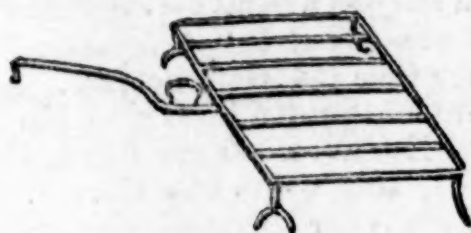


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Gentlemen,—After what has lately passed in review before us, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the actual situation of our country. Lord Melville, with his associates and abettors, under the pretence of *loyalty*; and the *Leaders of the Whigs under the pretence of the Constitution*; and the LEADERS OF THE CATHOLICS, UNDER THE PRETENCE OF RELIGION, are ALL evidently struggling for one and the same object;—A SHARE OF THE COMMON SPOIL. Whilst the wholesome power of the Crown, the fair liberty of the subject, and the real interest of any religion, are all sacrificed to the *common object*—*Plunder*. Of the rights of the people at large and of their welfare and independence, not a syllable is even whispered by any of these factions: and any attempt by others to bring the people or their interests into consideration, is stigmatised as treason."—SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S ADDRESS TO THE FREEHOLDERS OF MIDDLESEX, APRIL 28, 1807.

TO THE
PROTESTANTS OF ENGLAND,
On their duty at this time, in consequence of the efforts making by Mr. O'Connell.

Kensington, 8th July, 1828.

MY FRIENDS,

I, in the last Register, notified to my readers, that I should do my best to support Mr. O'CONNELL in his endeavours to obtain and retain a seat in the House of Commons. The election is, it appears, going on; and, it also appears, that that gentleman will probably be returned, as duly elected, a Member to serve in Parliament for the county of CLARE, in Ireland, in the room of VESEY FITZGERALD, who has been appointed President of the Board of Trade.

Some persons think, that the law, as it now stands, will permit Mr. O'CONNELL to take and keep his seat: others

are of a different opinion. But this is a matter of little importance, when compared with the performance of our, the English *people's* and particularly the English Protestants' duty, on this occasion; and, in order duly to estimate that duty, it becomes necessary for us, first of all, to inquire into the grounds upon which Mr. O'Connell will, as is generally expected, be forbidden to take, or will be ejected from, his seat in the House.

This gentleman is *duly qualified* according to law; he may be *duly elected and returned*. But, before any Member can take his seat in the House, the law provides that he shall take AN OATH, by which oath he declares before God and man, that he believes that the ROMAN CATHOLIC WORSHIP IS IDOLATROUS AND DAMNABLE; and this oath, which even we Protestants ought to look at seriously before we take it, Mr. O'CONNELL, who is a Catholic, will not take.

And, my friends, let us now, acting like sensible and just men, examine candidly into this matter. The oath was, and is intended, to prevent Catholics from being Members of Parliament, and it extends to both Houses. This oath obliges Catholics to keep out of Parliament, or to become *apostates*; that is to say, hypocrites towards men, and blasphemers against God. What is, then, this Catholic faith and worship, what is this Catholic religion, which Members of Parliament are called upon to swear that they deem to be "*idolatrous and damnable*"? And is it such as ought to exclude its followers from all public trust?

It is that very religion which SAINT AUSTIN brought into Kent twelve hundred years ago, and to which the people of this island were then converted: it is that very religion in which Englishmen lived and died for nine hundred years: it is that very religion the followers of which formed the parishes, built the churches and cathedrals, founded and built and endowed the two Universities and all

their colleges, together with all the hospitals, alms-houses, and great public schools in the kingdom; it is that very same religion the followers of which made the Common Law of this land, and framed all those safeguards for property and liberty which made this nation so great, so renowned, and *then*, alas! so happy; surpassing in security, ease, plenty, and hospitality all the other nations of the world; it is, in short, the religion of WILLIAM OF WICKHAM, who founded and endowed one of the colleges at Oxford, and the famous college of Winchester, and not that of the late BISHOP NORTH, who *sold small-beer* out of his episcopal palace of Farnham.

This is the religion of the Catholics; and, can we, though we have been brought up in the belief that ours is better; can we believe, that this religion is "*idolatrous and damnable*," and that all our forefathers and mothers, the collection of whose remains have raised such mounds round our country-churches, are gone into everlasting fire? No: we start back at the unnatural, the parricidal, the savage, the sacrilegious, the blasphemous idea!

My friends, the *creeds*, which are in our own Prayer Book; that is to say, the declarations of *our belief*, solemnly made before God, the *Apostles' Creed*, the *Nicene Creed*, the *Athanasian Creed*, are all taken from the Catholic Prayer Book; the *Saints* in our Church-Calendar, were all *Catholics*, without a single exception. And, can we, then, be so unjust as to pretend to believe, that this is an "*idolatrous and damnable*" religion, which furnished us with *creeds* and with *saints*? Again, we have *no Bible*, we have *no Testament*, we have *no Word of God*, that did not come to us *through the Pope and the Catholic Church*; that Church still teaches what she always taught; and shall we, then, believe, that her teachings are "*idolatrous and damnable*," and that to believe in her teachings ought to bring down *punishment on the heads* of those who thus believe?

Our king's title is *Defender of the Faith*. It is our boast that our king is the *Defender of the Faith*; and,

I pray you, mark this; and then ask, *what faith?* Why, my friends, the ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH! The English king, HENRY VIII., defended the Catholic religion against the originators of what was called a "*Reformation*," or change from the Catholic faith. As a reward for this, the POPE gave him the title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, which title our king wears unto this day. So that here is our king, reckoning amongst his highest honours, that he is the Defender of a Faith, the worship according to which his subjects must, before they sit in parliament, swear that they believe to be "*idolatrous and damnable*"!

What, you will reasonably ask, can be the *cause*, then, of this bitterness, this severity, this persevering and implacable hostility, towards the Catholic religion; and especially when there is so much *indulgence* shown towards all other sets of people who not only do not belong to, but who, in their dissent from, avow their *hostility* to, the established Church? Observe, that there is a vast difference between a *Dissenter* and a *Catholic*: the latter only remains *what he was before our church existed*: the former *dissents* from it, quits it, turns his back on it, and thereby necessarily assails its character, and that, too, by an overt act, far more powerful than words. The Dissenter *may* be right in all this; but, at any rate, the Catholic seems entitled to much greater *indulgence*; and he is treated with the greatest severity, while the Dissenter is not. What, therefore, can be the *real cause* of this seemingly unaccountable antipathy to those who still adhere to the religion of their and our fathers? The antipathy appears to be wholly against reason and against nature; but, if we look back a little, we shall clearly discover the real and efficient cause, which we shall, my friends, find to lie, not in doctrines, or in worship, but in *pounds, shillings and pence*.

The Catholic religion is essentially a *system of charity*, not of abstract or speculative charity, but of ever active charity, causing the poor or the unfortunate to be kindly and effectually relieved by the rich or the fortunate. This is the very basis of the Catholic religion; and,



in no part of the world was the practice more perfect than it was in England. The *tithes*, the *church-lands*, the *monasteries*, were all founded on this great basis. Accordingly, these endowments were not, in Catholic times, enjoyed by the *clergy only*; they did not keep all the tithes and other church-revenues *to themselves*; their first duty was *to provide for all the poor* out of those tithes and other revenues; their next, *to keep the churches in repair*, and to build new ones when necessary; besides which they were bound to keep hospitality and come to the *aid of the stranger*. And, that the clergy might not be tempted to divert the tithes and other revenues from these purposes, they were *forbidden to marry*. Such was the *church* and such the *law* in England, in Catholic times. So that there were no *poor-rates* and no *church-rates*, and to this happy country the name of *pauper* was, in those days, unknown. The regular clergy had *no private property*; all they held they held *IN TRUST*, for the poor and for the other purposes above-mentioned; and in those times it was next to impossible for any human being to suffer from want.

Would you swear, then, my friends, that that was a "*damnable*" religion? And yet, "*damnable*" it must have been, if its *worship* was such; and, Mr. O'CONNELL is now about to be called upon to swear, that it was "*damnable*." But, you will ask, *why* is he so called upon; and what can be the *reason* for stigmatising, for ever and ever, this Catholic religion, that made the clergy the distributors of the tithes and other revenues, and that made poor-rates and church-rates wholly unnecessary? To this question you will gather an answer from the following facts.

There came, about three hundred years ago, an event called the "*REFORMATION*," which was this: the king and the aristocracy *took to themselves* all the lands belonging to the church and poor, and a large part of the tithes also: they put a new sort of parsons into the churches, and allowed them *to marry*: and they called this a *Protestant Church*, which church they *established by law*;

and called it the Church of England as by *law* established. There being now *no provision for the poor*, **POOR-RATES** were invented, and the married clergy wanting so much for their families, *church-rates* next came. So that the people had to maintain the poor and to repair and build the churches; and *taxes*, heavy taxes, have been laid on for this purpose, from that day to this! And these taxes are precisely what we have *gained* by casting off the Catholic religion.

As a specimen of these gains, pray look at the state, at this very moment, of the CITY OF LONDON. Just after the "*REFORMATION*" began to produce its natural fruits, misery began to rear its horrid head in this rich city. In order to repair, in some sort, the injury done to the poor by the confiscation of church-property, a **DECREE** was made, imposing 2s. 9d. in the pound on all rack-rents, *in lieu of tithes*. This *now* is of amount enormous; the citizens have spent thousands upon thousands in law-suits in the hope of getting rid of the burden; and the following, taken from the Times newspaper of the 30th June, is an account of the present state of this costly litigation.

The great question of the legality of the demand set up by the clergy and lay improprators against an immense body of the citizens, under the statute of the 37th of Henry VIII., and an alleged decree of that date for 2s. 9d. in the pound tithes, have frequently been before the public. Several conferences have taken place at the Mansion-house, in consequence of some applications made by the *minor canons of St. Paul's for warrants of distress for tithes under the alleged decree*. These applications have stood over in consequence of the wish of his lordship to consult the city law authorities, as to the propriety of his interference, Alderman Heygate and several others of his lordship's predecessors having declined to grant warrants of distress to the clergy until the validity of the decree is determined.

Mr. T. M. Vickery, the solicitor of Mr. Purrier, attended for the purpose of stating, that in the suit brought against his client by Mr. Macdougall, the lay improprator of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, an issue has been directed by the Master of the Rolls for the solemn trial and determination of the validity of the alleged decree before a jury in the Court of Common Pleas. The trial is expected to come on in the course of a few days.

It is understood that several meetings of the

clergy and impropiators, who are interested in the question, have been held to advise upon the subject. From the case advanced before the Master of the Rolls, it is inferred that they will place their chief reliance upon the judge who tries the cause that he will *direct the jury to prove the existence of the decree*, from the fact that the demand under it has in several cases been complied with.

The several tithe committees of the citizens subjected to the demand have also been on the alert, and have tendered every aid in their power to the citizen who has been singled out for the trial of the question. They have occupied themselves in collecting evidence of the usage in their several parishes, and have prepared an overwhelming mass should it be admitted or be deemed expedient to use it. They state that the claim for 2s. 9d. in the pound has never been made since the Catholic times of Henry VIII, *when the clergy maintained the poor and repaired the churches thereout*, until a few years ago, and that the presumption is, that in no case was the claim ever acceded to, unless in ignorance of the law or under terror of a law-suit. The fact of the non-usage, they considered to be powerfully evidenced by the circumstances of the fixing of the stipends of the clergy in all the parishes of London burnt down in the great fire, and by the returns of the clergy themselves and impropiators previously in the year 1638.

It will be recollected that in the case of "*Macdougall v. Young*," a jury found that the alleged decree never was enrolled. Since that verdict, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer has directed a further issue in the case of "*Macdougall v. the Leathersellers' Company*" to try the same point, which latter issue stands over. Other tithe causes, involving the same question, particularly that of "*Dr. Owen v. Forster*," are still pending. The several parishes where the claim of 2s. 9d. in the pound for tithes has been made, especially in the strong cases of St. Gregory by St. Paul, St. Botolph Aldgate, and St. Olave Hart-street, proceedings are suspended, so far as they can be by those who are on the defensive, and they will so continue until the determination of the important issue, which is awaited with anxiety.

In Holborn, St. Dunstan's, Cripplegate, Bishopsgate, and Aldersgate, the inhabitants, rather than encounter the uncertainty of the law or the horrors of Chancery suits, have acceded to acts of parliament, which acts, however, fixed the amount of tithes at considerably less than 2s. 9d. in the pound. Though the inhabitants of these parishes are relieved from future contests and law-suits, they have in several instances expressed their sympathy with the poorer inhabitant of other suffering parishes, and have proffered the aid of any evidence within their control.

Here is a small specimen of the fruits of putting down the Catholic Church! These gentlemen have found the cause

always decided against them, and in favour of the *tithe-owners*; and thus they will always find it, until the *decree* (which is really an act of parliament) be *repealed*; and that will never be done, but by a *reformed Parliament*. In the meanwhile, these citizens, who suffer the "*TALL-BULLY*" (the *MONUMENT*) to "*lift its head, and lie*," and libel the Catholics, have the consolation to reflect, that this truly *Protestant* decree was the work of their *Saint THOMAS CRANMER*, and of that *LORD RUSSELL*, who was the founder of the famous Protestant House; to whose lot *WOBURN, TAVISTOCK, THORNEY*, and other parcels of the property of the Church and poor fell at the time of the "*Glorious Reformation*."

Ah! my friends, do you want any thing more to account for the persevering and implacable antipathy to the Catholics? Those who own the church-lands and the tithes, know well *whence* they came, and *whose they formerly were*. They know that they did not belong to, or, rather, that they were not held in trust for the poor and needy by Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Quakers, Unitarians, Muggletonians, or any of the forty-five sects who call themselves *dissenters*. They know this full well; and, therefore, they have no antipathy towards these sects: they release them from *tests*, and impose *no oath* to shut *them* out of parliament; but, an eye, open day and night, they keep upon the Catholics, whom they will not suffer to have a *bell* or a *steeple* to their chapels; whose priests they will not suffer to appear in the streets in their *robes*, and whom they prohibit from *presenting* to *church-livings*, while they allow that faculty to *Jews*.

If the Catholics and their clergy were not kept down thus, it is impossible but we should soon hear them call on the people to apply for a restoration of the *tithes*, at least, to the *poor*, and for a consequent abolition of the *poor-rates* and the *church-rates*. If the Catholic religion were raised from its present state of oppression and obloquy; if the law once acknowledged it to be harmless; if the monstrous slanders against it were once to cease, it is impossible

that the people would not be led to use all the legal means in their power to cause the tithes, and the other enormous revenues of the church, to be applied to those purposes to which they were applied in Catholic times.

Here, my friends, you have the cause, the real and only cause, of the apparently unaccountable antipathy to the Catholics and their religion. During even the present session of parliament, attempts have been made to pave the way for taking disqualifications from the *Jews*, who are open blasphemers, boasting of their descent from the murderers of our Saviour! Alas! the *Jews* have the good luck never to have been the distributors of tithes to the poor!

If there is hardship in the case of ENGLISH CATHOLICS, what, Good God! is the lot of those of Ireland, where *no poor-rates* were established to compensate the poor for the loss of the tithes, and where, to add to the injustice, mortification, and cruelty ten-fold, almost the whole of the people continue Catholics, who are compelled to yield tithes and all sorts of church dues to the utmost rigour, *though in many parishes there is not a single protestant*; and though on an average the Catholics are seven to one!

To put an end, by lawful means, to this state of things is, doubtless, the object of Mr. O'CONNELL; and to support him in his pursuit of this object is the duty of all those who have the power. But this implies, of course, that *such will be the constant object* of this gentleman, who has too much discernment not to know, that this object never can be accomplished without A RADICAL REFORM OF THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT. We know it at any rate; and our support must depend upon his continuing *openly to avow* that object, and his *acting fully up to the avowal*.

You have heard, my friends, of "*Catholic Emancipation*," which means *merely the admission of Catholics into parliament, and to certain high-offices, from which they are now excluded*. No benefit would the millions of Catholics derive from this; and, indeed, it would

(if it came without reform) be, in the end, *injurious to us all*; because it would swell the body of tax-receiving aristocracy, swell the pension and the place list, and these *new-comers* would, in all likelihood, be more greedy than those who are already pretty full. This "*emancipation*," as it is called, ought to take place; but, *not without reform*. It is a *Catholic emancipation from poor-rates and church-rates* that we want, and a *Catholic application of the tithes and church revenues*, and not the thing now called "*Catholic-emancipation*," which would, I sincerely believe, make a large addition to the rates and taxes, under which we are already sinking to the earth.

Yet, this latter is the *sole object* that the CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION IN LONDON seem to have in view; and, my friends, while justice calls on us to reprobate the workings of that antipathy (the cause of which I have explained) against the Catholics and their religion; while it calls on us to execrate the conduct of those who would punish men for having adhered faithfully to the religion of their and our fathers; while it calls on us thus, it by no means calls on us to overlook, or to be silent with respect to, the conduct of this English Catholic association, or, rather, *combination* of Catholics (whether *real* or *pretended*), who, under colour of seeking freedom from oppression, are actually obviously combined for the purpose of enlisting for life into that body which was formerly, by their present advocate, BURDETT, so aptly denominated "*THE REGIMENT*."

This *combination* (for it is unworthy of the name of *Association*), consisting chiefly of an ambitious yet abject aristocracy, and of the scum of the inns of court, who hope to creep into the ranks of "*the Regiment*" under the cover of the coronetted skirts; this combination have given indubitable proof, and proof upon proof, that (with some few exceptions) they are animated by *precisely* the motive described by BURDETT in the passage that I have taken for my motto to this Register. "*The leaders of the Catholics, under pretence of religion, are struggling for A SHARE OF*"

"THE COMMON SPOIL, while the "real interest of religion is sacrificed to "the common object, PLUNDER." This, observe, was not in a *speech*, which might have been *misreported*; but in a *written* address, signed *with his name*, and published all over the kingdom; and seeing that this combination has lately voted their *thanks* to this "consistent politician," they will hardly reject him as an *authority* on the subject; that would be ungrateful, and this combination are peculiarly distinguished by their *gratitude*!

It is, as BURDETT truly said, a combination for getting "*a share of the common spoil*," and, therefore, we have to watch it, and to counteract its efforts. It is endeavouring, under the venerable name of *Catholic*, to make part and parcel of the body of tax-eaters. Never does this body talk about any thing that the *people* want; never a word against the *grinding taxation*; never a word against *seat-selling*; never a word about any *public right*; and, in short, the fact clearly is, that the members of this combination would be sorry to gain even what they are contending for, if they could not have it with all the taxes and all the corruptions and all the depression of the people still remaining. Therefore, it is the duty of us all, Catholics as well as Protestants, to watch and to counteract this mean and would-be mischievous combination; and this is exactly what BURDETT told us, as long as he continued to be a friend of the people: now that he has become just the reverse of what he was: now that he has openly joined the enemies of reform; now he very naturally applauds and endeavours to aid those very "*Catholic leaders*" that he formerly denounced, though their conduct and their object are now precisely what they were in 1807, when he wrote and published the address above cited.

There is another feature of this present combination, called the "*English Catholic Association*," which fully justifies the description of BURDETT; namely, that its members not only keep aloof from all efforts *favourable to the people at large*, and of course, to the *great body of the Catholics*, but that they show the

most *bitter hostility* to every one within their reach who attempts to do any thing in favour of "*the rights and welfare of the people*"; a most remarkable proof of which was seen in their continual ill-treatment, and finally, their actual *expulsion* of Mr. FRENCH, whose *pretended* offence was his alleged (falsely) rudeness to LORD CLIFFORD, but whose real offence was his having invariably endeavoured to make the combination *connect the cause of the Catholics with that of reform*, and particularly his having *opposed votes of thanks* to CANNING and BROUGHAM, the former the open and implacable enemy of all reform and all freedom, and the latter their more secret but not less bitter foe, and being, besides, a *reviler of the Catholic religion*.

And, here, do let us look a little at the *religious sincerity* of this combination. I related, some time ago, that a well-known *veteran lawyer* belonging to it, had said, that Mr. COBBETT had done a great deal *for the Catholic religion*, but a great deal *against the Catholic cause*! So, then, the *cause* was different from the religion! *Good* to the latter was *evil* to the former! Mr. FRENCH, not less sincere and zealous in his religion than in his desire to promote the good of the people at large, objected to any thing in praise or approbation of BROUGHAM, because the latter, in a speech on the ancient laws, had said, as to one particular law, "it is one of the *bad things* "left us by the *Catholic system*, if one "may be allowed to make distinctions "in a case WHERE ALL WAS "BAD." What are we to think of a set of men, calling themselves *Catholics*, who, immediately after this, were proposing a *vote of thanks* to this very BROUGHAM, and who persevered notwithstanding the most able appeal of Mr. FRENCH? "*Think of them!*" the honest Protestant will say, "why, think of them "what BURDETT said of them while "himself professed to be a friend of "freedom and justice! Think, aye and "know too, that *under pretence of religion*, they are evidently struggling for "a share of the common spoil, and "sacrificing the *real interest of religion* "to the common object, *plunder*."

This is what every sensible Protestant must think, and especially when he looks at the sequel of the conduct of the COMBINATION, this combination of ambitious imbeciles and hungry expectant sycophants, who actually expelled Mr. FRENCH under the false pretence that he had *falsely* contradicted an assertion of LORD CLIFFORD, when he had strictly confined himself to the truth, and had said nothing that he was not bound to say, or consent to be a base tool in the hands of the aristocratical part of this Combination. But the truth is, that the combination was continually *thwarted* by this gentleman, distinguished by his learning and eloquence, as well as by his sincerity and integrity; who never missed an occasion of expressing his disapprobation of measures having the "cause" in view to the sacrifice of the "religion," of the Catholics. And, accordingly, as BURDETT said in his address above quoted from, they "stigmatised him as a *traitor*"! How just, how exactly and minutely true, the words of that address! Here is this gentleman, learned, eloquent, sincere in his faith, of manners the most amiable, of character spotless, chased out of the Association for no other cause than that he stood forth for the cause of us all, and would not consent to praise the vilifier of that faith, an adherence to which was the basis of the Association from which he was expelled! Some of the sycophants of the aristocratical part of the combination, besought Mr. French to *withdraw* from the Association, to avoid the *censure* implied by a vote of expulsion; to which he replied, in a manner truly worthy of his character:—"No: I deem it an *honour* to quit the "room under the *censure* of such an "Association." To which he might have added, that he had the further honour of treading in the steps, and of sharing the treatment of the learned, pious, zealous, and famous Dr. MILNER, the glory of the Catholic Church in these latter times, and, for a cause nearly similar, EXPELLED BY THIS SAME ASSOCIATION, and who, upon quitting them, said, "I request that you will not turn me out of the Catholic

Church, and not exclude me from the kingdom of heaven." Dr. MILNER died a *Bishop*, having by his various, numerous, and most able writings, done more for the Catholic religion in England than any other man within the last two hundred years. But Dr. MILNER, like Mr. FRENCH, could not consent to sacrifice the Catholic religion to the Catholic "cause"; he could not consent to verify the words of BURDETT, by "sacrificing the real interests of religion to "the common object, PLUNDER"; and, therefore, he also was expelled by this combination; he, as BURDETT says, was a "traitor"; a traitor to the "cause"; the cause of corruption, of public spoil and public plunder.

But, because we despise this combination, we are not to suffer our feelings towards them to be extended to the *great body of the Catholics*, who despise them as heartily as, and with still better reason than, we do. The Catholics in general, want only to be placed, in all respects, upon the *same footing with the mass of his Majesty's subjects*; but the combination have a constant eye on the places, pensions, sinecures, and grants; and, I declare it to be my firm belief, that they would *not ask* for what they call "emancipation," if they thought that it would, when granted, tend to put an end to *seat-selling*, or to any one of the many evils therefrom arising. They want a "share of the *common spoil*"; and, if what they call "*emancipation*" would not, in their opinion, give them that, they would never again ask for "emancipation." They praise BURDETT, not because he is the friend of their religion; not because he would restore tithes to old Catholic purposes; not because he would rescue the Catholics from the grip of Protestant parsons; for, *he* proposes none of these: but, because he is now the *enemy of reform*; because *he wanted to disfranchise the 40s. freeholders of Ireland*; and because he stuck his knees in the back of CANNING, even at the moment when that sworn foe of English freedom was declaring that he would *oppose a repeal of the test act, and a reform of the parliament, to the last hour of his life*; and, as if

for the purpose of leaving not the shadow of a doubt of the insincerity and imbecility of this combination, they, in one and the same half year, passed a vote *in praise of the late CANNING, as a friend of civil and religious liberty*, and a vote of *congratulation to the Dissenters*, who (after his death) had obtained a repeal of that very test act; which repeal he had, only four months before his death, said that he would oppose to the last hour of his life! Such an instance of want of principle, want of sincerity, want of even common sense, and of common shame, of common decency, was, perhaps, never witnessed before. Who will not say, with Mr. FRENCH, that it is an honour to have been expelled by such a body? The praise, the nasty, false, and foolish praise, which this combination heaps on BROUGHAM and BURDETT, proceeds from the certainty that they have, that those men are now labouring to keep the whole mass of corruption in existence, and from the hope that they are also labouring to enable them to get at "a share of the common spoil." BURDETT had put into print his declaration that the *motives of those leaders were baseness itself*; BROUGHAM had publicly denounced the *whole of their religion to be bad*: and they choose these two men as objects of their applauding votes; after which, Satan himself will hardly despair of becoming an object of their gratitude and adulation; and I think, my friends, you will agree with me that, in the archives of the combination, a vote of thanks to the Devil might have stood with great consistency and propriety, after the votes for expelling Dr. MILNER and Mr. FRENCH.

Mr. O'CONNELL is now labouring for objects wholly different from those of Burdett and Brougham: he has, on the hustings in the county of CLARE, pledged himself to the cause of *parliamentary reform*; and he has also pledged himself to do all in his power to *cause a reduction of the tithes*. That is enough to make it our duty to support him to the utmost of our power. These are the things we want: *reform* is, indeed, all in all; for that *must produce* either a *total abolition of tithes*, or an application

of them on the old Catholic plan, which would put an end to *poor-rates* and *church-rates*, and cause the clergy to be what they formerly were, the best friends of their flocks, and the distributors of the revenues of the Church to the poor and needy, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger within their gates.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Since the above was written, intelligence has arrived of Mr. O'CONNELL having been duly elected and returned, and that, in consequence thereof, he has done what NO ROMAN CATHOLIC EVER DID BEFORE, that is, FRANKED LETTERS! Whether that is to be ALL, whether all his doings are to terminate in the short-lived exercise of that insignificant and rather unpopular, not to say more, privilege, will now depend upon himself, and wholly upon himself. It is not just (and it never is so in fact) that a man should acquire and preserve great popularity, unless he act up fully to his professions. He who means to succeed by the effects of enthusiasm, must not cease to keep that feeling alive: he must not teach it to droop by drooping himself: he must not, by his example, give it a sober lesson of *prudence* and of *caution*: he ought to reflect well and long before he, whether positively or by implication, makes promises that excite great expectations, but having done it, *disappointment*, from whatever cause proceeding, exposes him to great danger, and, if manifestly proceeding from his own want of resolution, produces his ruin for ever: in the case of such a man, there must be no halting, no slackening, no hesitating, no "moderation;" he must not stop at the glacié; he must march up to the very ditch; he must prove that he has gone to the last niche of human possibility, or he sinks for ever.

I have been led to make these observations in consequence of perceiving, that, at the close of the election at CLARE, Mr. O'CONNELL assumed a tone of *moderation* and *conciliation*, to which he has, previous to, and during the contest, been wholly a stranger; added to which, is a notification, on the part of the

Association in Dublin, that there is not to be that *procession* and that *triumphal arch*, which were to signalise his return to, and his entry into, that city; but that all the demonstrations of joy at this signal victory are to be confined to a **DINNER** to be given in Dublin on Monday next, *the 14th inst.*! This will, indeed, be the anniversary of the **KNOCKING DOWN OF THE BASTILE**; but that circumstance, which, too, perhaps, the inventors of the dinner did not think of, will, I am afraid, form but a poor compensation to the hundreds of thousands who so confidently expected to have an opportunity of sharing personally in the triumph of that cause, which has so long been struggling in vain for success.

Then, how is Mr. O'CONNELL to show his eagerness to be in *St. Stephen's*, if he remain in Dublin, until the 15th of the month. It must require four or five days more to bring him to London; and it is supposed, that the Parliament will then be ready to be prorogued. If he postpone *until next year* the taking of his seat, will that square with his professions at Clare? Will that argue that resolution and promptitude, and that thirst for a conflict with his foes, which were to be inferred from his declarations? To make his deeds correspond with his words, he ought to have closed, at CLARE, in the same tone that he began; then to have started for Dublin and entered it amidst the shouts of the people; then to have started, without sleeping, for London; and then, in the most public manner, to have entered the Parliament-house, there to maintain his right and the rights of the people, or to be ejected by such force as no man can possibly resist.

I trust, that he still intends to pursue the latter part of this course; for, if he do not, he will have done more mischief to the Catholics than any pen or tongue can adequately express. The declining of the triumphant entry into Dublin must, I fear, be deemed a bad beginning: it looks like having taken fright at his success: it looks like a hope to *conciliate*, when any one must see, that conciliation, without *submission* on his

part, without an open abandonment of all his professions and promises, is as *impossible* as the co-existence, in the same space, of darkness and of light. But, if he flinch here, in England! if he endeavour to *conciliate here*! if he turn pale upon merely finding himself in the same atmosphere with that "*WELLINGTON* and that *PEEL*," whom he has pledged himself to set at defiance, to attack, and almost to hurl from their seats! Being now the advocate of *reform*, he will here find hundreds of thousands to support him *openly* in all his loyal and legal endeavours; but, he must act *openly too*; for, if he go the *back way* into the House, as BURDETT did *out of the Tower*, he will be turned out with as little ceremony and as little noise as a pennyless customer is ejected from a pot-house at midnight.

If he place the smallest reliance on those men in Parliament, to whom he and the Association have voted thanks, and especially if he *listen to their advice*, he is ruined for ever; and "*the Member for Clare*," will become a by-word for ages, a term of ridicule and of scorn. There is *no danger, personal, or pecuniary*, in pursuing the straight-forward and gallant course; but, if there were danger, and even great danger, of both descriptions, it would be his bounden duty to encounter it. Nobody *compelled* him to become a candidate for Clare: no necessity urged him to it: he was not even invited to take that step: it was his own voluntary act: he knew full well that the prosecution of his intention would expose both priests and people to a great deal of injurious resentment. he told them that he legally *could*, and that he *would*, take the seat, if they elected him to it: by the money of one part of the people and by the still greater sacrifices of another part, he has, at his own pressing solicitation, been enabled to take the seat; and, therefore, he is bound to take it, and that, too, at the first possible moment, and in a manner the most public and best calculated to render his ejection conducive to the good of the people, though to do this were manifestly at the risk of his life, instead of being, as it is, attended with

not the smallest danger of any description.

I beg not to be understood as expressing *an opinion* that he will *not* pursue the course pointed out by honour and by duty; and I most sincerely hope that he will pursue that course; but, somewhat alarmed by his *altered tone* at ENNIS, and still more by the intended *private entry into Dublin*, I have thought it my duty to state thus publicly my views upon the subject; and no one will rejoice so sincerely as I shall to find this statement to have been unnecessary.

SCOTCH NOTE BILL.

THIS bill was read a second time, in the Lords, on THURSDAY last, and it was passed in that House on Monday, the 7th instant. On the day but one before the second reading, EARL GREY presented a petition from Mr. HENRY BURGESS of No. 81, Lombard Street, against the bill, or, rather, against the enforcement of the English small-note bill, the only important part of which petition I shall here insert. On the day of the second reading LORD KING was so good as to present a petition from ME in favour of the law putting an end to small notes. I will first insert the extract from Mr. Burgess's petition, and then insert my own. I request my readers to pay particular attention to the passages that I have marked by *italics*.

That your humble petitioner does not rely solely on the foregoing reasons. Much experience and extensive inquiry on this subject have convinced him that the facts of the case on which the law of 1826 is justified, and on which a new law is recommended, are not accurately known, and the consequences that will result from the operation of these laws are not duly appreciated. If it be supposed that the Act for the suppression of the Small Notes of Country Bankers, and the contemplated Act for the exclusion of Scotch and Irish Notes from England, will together effectually regulate the currency, and that they will accomplish this purpose, without, in any serious manner, obstructing the energies of productive industry, the supposition is monstrously absurd. If the point had been proved, that it was urgently expedient to contract the issues of paper—a point of deep interest, because on it hang the considerations

of the revenue, the interest of the debt, the payment of the public servants, rents, and engagements; but if this point had been established by investigation, the contraction of the paper should take place in towns, amongst the speculative merchants, where it is in redundancy, and not in the country, where it is in alarming deficiency. *The small notes are the most useful of all currency, because, if secured by the Bankers, the labourers derived greater convenience from them, and sustain less loss by using them, than by using any other currency; and they have no influence whatever on great speculations.*

Your humble Petitioner is convinced, that the amount of small notes now circulating in England exceeds five millions; but he regards the amount as a matter of trifling importance, compared with the effect of the measure upon credit, and its influence upon all Banking operations in the mining, manufacturing, and agricultural parts of the country. The entire suppression of small notes, *by containing the accommodation which the Bankers give to their customers*, will cause much capital to be withdrawn from the productive classes, where it is already greatly deficient. The pressure of the measure will fall, not generally and equally, but partially; and it must be sustained by that particular portion of the community which has the least power to bear it. It will impose new difficulties upon farmers, graziers, and miners, and those manufacturers who are employed in our more ancient, fixed, and staple manufactures. Within the last week your humble petitioner has conversed with three Country Bankers, connected with those classes who will be particularly affected by this measure. One, a Banker of old standing, of great wealth, and of acknowledged prudence and circumspection, and who issues no small notes, told him that the injurious effect of the measure in his neighbourhood would be so extensive that he should call in one hundred thousand pounds of his advances to the public; an amount which is a portion of the sum which he has, for thirty years, employed in lending to men engaged in the pursuits of industry, in his vicinity. Another Banker, who lives three hundred miles from the former, said, that though the Bankers in his neighbourhood were solvent, and possessed property, the entire suppression of small notes would, by cutting down the amount of their business, close one half of the Banks in the district wherein he resides. And a third, who lives nearly four hundred miles from the last named, had more gloomy apprehensions of the consequences than the others. These were all men of wealth, of superior intelligence, remarkable for their circumspection and foresight.

Your humble Petitioner hopes these gentlemen over-rate the disastrous effects; he thinks the measure is not fraught with so much danger; but it should be considered, at the same time, that it is possible for the evil to be much greater than either he or they apprehend. It

would be useless to dwell on the consideration that these are the mere opinions of three bankers. The whole business of a banker rests on opinion. It has no other foundation. The business of a banker is not now like that of the goldsmiths of former days; the weighing of metals, and the exchanging of one piece for another. It consists (on the side of lending out his money) first, in the estimating of all those general circumstances that would warrant him, at any particular period, in giving or extending credit to a greater number of people, or to a greater amount in the same number; or which compel him to lessen in the number or in the amount his credit advances. Secondly, in balancing individual credits under the influence of the first rule. As all depends, therefore, upon the state of opinion in the banker, and on his gauge for regulating individual credit, the main question to be considered in this matter is, not simply the effect of withdrawing three, four, or five millions of the currency, but the effect upon the minds of bankers, and the consequences to the connexions of bankers. If six hundred bankers are influenced at the same time by the opinion, that increased prudence and caution are requisite, and, actuated by that sentiment, each withdraws from the whole of his customers only 15,000*l.* of lent money, it will cause nine millions to be drawn at once from the producers in England, and that at a time when they have less credit, less pecuniary resource, than they have had at any moment during the last thirty years.

Mr. BURGESS was, I believe, *Secretary*, or something of that sort, to the PIGS, when they assembled in London to form plans for thwarting the OLD SOW. His petition, had he not, at the close of it, so positively asserted it to express only his own private opinions and prayers, I should have deemed as a sort of *ex-officio* declaration in behalf of the whole body of Rooks; and, even as it is, I look on it as the last mournful *caw* of the condemned Rookery, the members of which will now sit moping on the inner boughs of the tree, their feathers ruffled out, and their bills poked back under their wings; now and then one will come from the perch, *thump* on the ground; and, at last, now a *caw* will be heard. I, having followed the Rookery up so long, and with so much success, was resolved to give them a parting shot, and this I did in the following petition.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of William Cobbett, of

Kensington, in the County of Middlesex,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your Petitioner perceives, that efforts are making to prevail on your Right Honourable House to repeal the salutary law of 1826, relative to small paper-money; and that, though your humble Petitioner has, as it becomes him to have, the most implicit confidence in the justice and wisdom of your Lordships, yet, so profound is the cunning, so indefatigable the activity, so insatiable the avarice, and, at the same time, so pure and modern saint-like the professions of the parties making the efforts to prevail on your Lordships as aforesaid, that your Petitioner cannot refrain from hoping to be pardoned, if he, with all the deference due from him to your Lordships, approach your Right Honourable House with a prayer that your Lordships will be pleased not to act upon the insidious advice of parties, from characterizing whom in terms merited by their too obvious motives he could be restrained by no earthly consideration short of the profound veneration for those to whom he is thus addressing his humble supplications.

That your Petitioner beseeches your Lordships to be pleased to observe, that the crafty parties, now making the strenuous efforts aforesaid, represent that the paper-money is a thing beneficial to the people at large; that it is the safest sort of currency for the labouring classes; and that to suppress the small paper-money will be injurious to those classes; that, however, the facts are, that the makers of paper-money have, by usurping the most important prerogative of the King, obtained a monopoly in all trade and commerce, and also, to a great degree, in agriculture; that by means of a species of currency that costs them next to nothing, they draw many millions a year out of the fruits of the people's labour, and out of the incomes derivable from possessions and from land; that according to an estimate which your petitioner believes to be correct, the failures of paper-money makers have, within the last forty years, occasioned a direct and positive loss to the people of England of sixty-seven millions of pounds sterling; that, during that time, the number of failures have tripled the whole number of paper-money makers existing in any one year; that the parties have invariably lived in a style of opulence after their failure, while the poor-houses have been filled with their unhappy victims, and while some of those victims have actually perished with hunger with the "worthless rags" in their pockets; and that the consequence lately was a near approach to a state of barter, which is only another word for a general convulsion, and which was, in the case alluded to, prevented by circumstances purely accidental.

That your petitioner perceives, that, while it is pretended that the parties in question gain nothing by the small paper-money, it has been represented to your Lordships that one

of them, who makes no small paper-money, will call in a hundred thousand pounds of his paper, if the small paper-money be abolished, and that, on the whole, nine millions will be drawn in from the same motive; that it is then clear, that there is, in fact, no real convertibility of paper into gold, and, of course, no limits to the issue of paper and no security for the peace and property of the country; that this non-convertibility is placed beyond all doubt by the fact, that, in many places at least, the issuers of paper-money charge a commission on all gold that they may give in the discounting of a bill, over and above the interest of five per cent, thus furnishing, in the transactions in their own shops, a proof of their paper being, even now and in their own estimation, in a state of real and avowed depreciation.

That your Petitioner, relying on the indulgence of your lordships, hopes that he shall not be thought presumptuous in respectfully expressing his fears of the consequences which would follow a repeal of the act of 1826; that, in his humble opinion, such repeal would amount to a declaration of national insolvency; that all confidence would flee at the very sound; that a bank-restriction must of necessity speedily follow, including all the makers of paper-money throughout the kingdom; that depreciation with its natural attendant, two prices, would go regularly on undermining the state, enfeebling every function of the government, and that, even without such restriction, foreign war, or domestic insurrection, however trifling in itself, might, by causing a general run for gold, convulse the whole country in a day, laying prostrate all law, making all property, of every description, the sport of passions uncontrollable as the winds, affording another proof, that paper money, which is "strength in the beginning, is weakness in the end," and again reading to the world the awful lesson, that the glare of false wealth is the funeral flambeau of states and of kingdoms.

That, therefore, your Petitioner most humbly but also most ardently implores your lordships not to pass any act which shall repeal, suspend, or impair the force of, the act of 1826, which provides for the non-issue of bank notes under five pounds, after the 5th day of April, 1829.

And your Petitioner will ever pray,

WM. COBBETT.

Kensington, 2nd July, 1828.

I was in the House of Lords when the bill was read a second time, and had the great pleasure to perceive, that the DUKE OF WELLINGTON was resolved to adhere to the Act of 1826; for, let whatever else happen, to come to gold is the only course that can give us a chance of a restoration to justice and safety. I do not say, that it will restore us to these:

I know it will not, unless there be a very great reduction of taxes; but, in no other course is there even a chance of escaping a convulsion; and, even if a convulsion follow this measure, a convulsion must follow a contrary measure; and a convulsion in the former case would be less dangerous than one in the latter.

At the third reading of the bill, LORD ELLENBOROUGH is, by the Morning report, said to have used the following words, by way of answer to LORD CLIFDEN, who had, and very correctly, stated the injury to the payers of taxes arising from being forced to pay in gold a debt, contracted in depreciated paper.

"LORD ELLENBOROUGH recommended
"the Noble Lord opposite (Clifden) to
"refer to the useful and accurate Tables
"of Mr. Mushett, for information relative to the supposed loss the State has
"suffered by borrowing money at a
"period when the currency was depreciated, and repaying it at another,
"when it had arrived at greater value.
"He (Lord Ellenborough) considered
"that these ought to be purchased for
"the use of their Lordships' House. By
"reference to those Tables, which were
"generally admitted to be formed with
"the greatest accuracy, it would be immediately perceived the loss complained of was nothing like what the
"Noble Lord had represented; nor was
"there any serious deficiency from having contracted a debt which was formed
"of paper-money, and refunding it in
"gold."

It is curious enough, that MUSHETT (whom I laughed at, and called "GRANNY MUSHETT," seven years ago) preached PRECISELY THE DOCTRINE OF RICARDO, taking the market price of gold as the standard of depreciation, and not the market price of productions! It was this error, this jew-like error, on which PEEL'S BILL was passed; that bill which has, for nine long years, kept this country in a see-saw, from one species of ruin to another; and which will, at last, (unless Norfolk Petition be listened to), finally give it, Lord Ellenborough's opinion, and MUSHETT'S TABLES notwithstanding, a souse to one side, that

will make its affairs rattle like the contents of a ship-cabin table, when a sudden gust sends a mountain of wave against the hull.

Curious, indeed, that GRANNY MUSHETT should, and by a *lord*, too, (Oh, Lord!), be conjured up from the deep tomb of the trunk-makers, just at the moment when Sir JAMES GRAHAM, BARING, BURDETT, and the rest of the other place are begging pardon of the country for having believed in the doctrine of RICARDO, whose doctrine was precisely that of MUSHETT; and this latter did, in fact, make his "*tables*," in order to *sustain the doctrine of Ricardo!* And yet, Lord ELLENBOROUGH wishes the "*tables*" to be "*purchased for the use of the House.*" Not with *public money*, I do hope! Peel's Bill was passed on the principle laid down by Ricardo, who was called an "*Oracle*"; I disputed this principle of Ricardo; MUSHETT published his *Tables*, (which any merchant's clerk could have done as well as he,) in order to prove the truth of Ricardo's principle; all men now agree, that Ricardo was a poor, shallow fool, and his principle the most palpable and egregious error; and, now, the accomplished SEIGNEUR ELLENBOROUGH thinks that Mushett's *Tables* ought to be "*purchased for the use of the House of Lords!*"

Shall I say any more about it? Yes, a word or two. I have been told, that "*all the Ministers read the Register,*" at which I must, of course, (*bowing*) be *highly flattered!* But, I now find that this was false; for, if this accomplished SEIGNEUR had read the very last Register (5th July, 1828), it is *impossible*, I say *impossible*, that he could have spoken thus of MUSHETT's tables; for, in that Register the *conclusion*, founded on MUSHETT's tables, is proved, and proved and proved again, to be totally false, and the offspring of folly bordering on imbecility: and, therefore, I do hope, that if the House of Lords do "*purchase those tables for their use,*" they will purchase them with money taken out of their *own pockets*. Poor GRANNY MUSHETT! His tables are "*accurate*" enough I dare say: and so was RICARDO's statement of the *price of*

gold compared with that of paper: poor fellows (is Mushett dead too, I wonder?) they were both *accurate* enough in stating the market price of gold, and the difference between that and the price of paper; but, the poor devils did not perceive that *this had nothing at all to do with the question*; and how, indeed, should they? There was no fault in *them*: they talked and wrote as it was natural for such men to do; but, there were *others* whom it became not to be induced, by such shallow men, to pass an act that plunged a whole country into ruin, though duly and fully and repeatedly warned of the mischievous consequences of that, or any such act.

However, go on Seigneur: stick to MUSHETT: maintain, with him, that the fundholders gained at one time no more than they lost at another; and that we are firmly bound to continue to pay the interest in full tale and in gold of full weight and fineness: **MAINTAIN THIS**, and I shall never complain of your purchasing MUSHETT's tables, even if the purchase be at the public expense; or, if that were necessary, at *my own expense*: for a set of the basest men that ever disgraced the human form, a set of the most unjust, most malignant, most tyrannical, most insolent, most cruel, and most cowardly wretches that ever cursed the earth, will then meet with that ruin, that beggary, that scorn, that contempt, those kicks and those cuffs, and those coverings with mud and rotten eggs, which they have, for many years, so richly deserved.

CLARE ELECTION.

It appears, that, to-day (9th July), the news is, that Mr. O'CONNELL has a vast majority; but that a trick is to be played in order to nullify his votes. This, however, must be settled by a COMMITTEE of the House; and, in the meanwhile, he, if returned, will come to *take his seat*. I have no doubt that every thing will be prepared to prevent his doing that: yet, this is not a time to *court a commotion*. An army, well-fed and clad and armed, easily quells an unarmed people; but, an army is apt, in its haste to put down a people, to *brush away a paper-money!* And, there is no doubt, in my mind, that this is,

after all, the strong ground, the great security of Mr. O'CONNELL, and the *best hope* of his country. The question is not, whether it would, or would not, be good policy, to goad the Irish people into insurrection or rebellion; but, whether it would be good policy to *blow up the currency of Ireland*, and, by that, expose this country to a panic even before the act of 1826 can have forced gold into circulation. If Mr. O'CONNELL be defeated now by the sheer force of the Government, he must see that *Associations* for "*emancipation*" are a mere farce: he must see that the only legal resource offered him is in the *paper-money*; but he must also see, that that resource is, at once, peaceful, lawful, open, honest, facile, and EFFECTUAL! "*Give me gold for this note!*" pronounced by two hundred thousand men twice or thrice in one and the same day: the simple performance of this *right*, which is also a *duty*, and is, at the same time, in accordance with the precepts of the Government itself, would, in my opinion, do more for Ireland, than all that has ever been done for it since the Protestant "*Reformation*."

There has been a meeting in London of Catholics and others, to consult on the means of supporting Mr. O'CONNELL. At this meeting Mr. HUNT attended, accompanied by Mr. RONAYNE of Cork, and some other gentlemen; but, the Catholic aristocrats fled at the sound of that *reform*, to which Mr. O'CONNELL has pledged himself; and, which is well worthy of remark, when Mr. RONAYNE spoke of the necessity of *reducing the temporalities of the established church*, the Catholic aristocracy and their sycophants set up a most vehement cry of *disapprobation*! This clearly proves what *their views* are.

Mr. O'CONNELL must have reliance on stuff of a sort *different from this*; or, it would be better for him *not to come to England*; for, most assuredly, he will, if he trust to *any faction*; if he do not rely solely on *the people*, go back to Ireland the laughing stock of his enemies.

EMIGRATION!

A most entertaining scene took place in the COLLECTIVE on the 24th of June. WILMOT HORTON (after whom the reader knows that *two townships* have been baptized in that sweet country, Nova Scotia) brought forward his *emigration project*

on the day just named. His motion was:

"That this House will, *early in the next Session of Parliament*, take into consideration the expediency of adopting such measures, whether of Emigration on an extensive scale, or otherwise, as may be deemed best calculated to *diminish pauperism in Ireland*, and thereby remedy the injurious effects of pauperism in the trade and manufactures of this country."

This was a very tame affair compared with the *vigorous* proposition for *mortgaging the poor-rates in England*, in order to send the *English* out of their country! But, even this motion was not carried to a division, and was, indeed, *withdrawn*; though WILMOT had, in the early part of the session, declared, that his measure was absolutely necessary to preserve the estates of *English* land-owners. Not a word did he say about *England* now! No hint at a mortgage on the poor-rates: that he has dropped, at any rate; though the attempt was a fact never to be forgotten.

WILMOT appears to have been very angry with his brothers of the Collective on account of the deaf ear that they have constantly turned to him and his projects; but, he had a "*consolation*," he said! The Devil he had! And what was the "*consolation*," think you? You shall hear, and in his own words, as given by the *reporter*.

"It was some consolation to him, in the total absence of all interest on the subject in that House, to know that there were authorities in the country, very much influencing the public opinion; of course, those authorities were not to be put on a par with the intelligence and wisdom of that House; but they, nevertheless, produced a very practical effect on the opinions of the country at large. What was very extraordinary was, that the most remarkable coincidence was found on this subject among parties who differed in opinion upon almost all other questions, involving considerations of national policy. He would especially read those passages in the Publications to which he alluded, which referred to that part of his Resolution, adverting to the effect upon this country of the *emigration of Irish paupers*; and which expressed the apprehension which the writers felt from the prospect of that emigration being left unchecked."

Now, reader, who do you think these "*AUTHORITIES*" were? A whole group of *shuffle-breeches*! The *Quarterly Review*, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Westminster Review* (Peter Thimble's),

and *Blackwood's Magazine*! The whole of this is *Scotch*, except the Review of the London shuffle-breeches, called the *Quarterly Review*.

WILMOT would have had the land-owners believe, that the fact, that these several publications *disagreeing upon all other political topics* is to form the ground of a conclusion, that they are *all right here*; that *truth is so clearly on his side*, that it forced itself upon them all. Now, are there souls so dirty in the whole world as those of these Reviewers? Is it not notorious, that the hacks *work by the sheet*? Is it not notorious, that, if you write a *review of your own book*, they will gladly take it (unless it thwart their interest,) and publish it to save expense? Is it not notorious, that, if you can get at a journeyman reviewer, he will *take your review of your own book*, pass it to his master as his own work, and get paid for it? PETER PINDAR proposed to bribe them with "*buckets of broth and lumps of bullock's liver*"; but not a devil of them would be proof against a pot of black porter, a glass of gin, or a mutton chop, unless their natures have been wholly changed within a very few years. Now, I do not say that WILMOT himself produced this "*remarkable coincidence*," and *harmony* in the minds of these bitterly discordant men; but, I am sure, that he *might* have done it, if he liked; and, I put it to the reader, whether, seeing what a noise WILMOT had made about the matter, how loudly he had complained of the *inattention of the House*; how piteously he had complained, what anxiety he was manifestly in for the fate of this tender and beloved offspring of his brain; I put it to the reader, whether he does not firmly believe, that some *zealous friend*, at least, produced this "*remarkable coincidence*"? And, how came WILMOT to happen to see *all these reviews so promptly and opportunely*? He must be not only a great reader, but a great collector of Reviews! Did the Reviewers send him their books? And how came they all to be inspired with the same thought at the same moment? There is one circumstance that is con-

clusive as to the point; namely, that BLACKWOOD'S thing says: "Mr. W. HORTON has certainly been *shamefully dealt with by his friends, official and inofficial*!" There is not a man in England simpleton enough to believe, that these words were the offspring of the mind of any Reviewer. This smelt strongly indeed of the "*buckets of broth and lumps of bullock's liver*"!

A man must be *hard pushed*, when he can resort to *props* such as these; when he can read *reviews* of his own proposition as *authorities* in its support; authorities that *nobody knows*; needy fellows necessarily, and fellows without a name. To the credit of the Collective, they were *thin*, and remarkably *drowsy*. At last the old stager, MALTHUS, was cited.—"Mr. MALTHUS had been asked "whether, if a country were *without taxation*, with an *unrestricted trade in corn*, and with a *metallic currency*, great distress might not arise from an *excess of labour beyond demand*; and "he answered, YES."

Now, WILMOT, though this man's opinion is not worth a straw, this was not the question to put to him. The question was: "in a country without *taxation*, with *unrestricted trade in corn*, and with *real money afloat*, can there be such a thing as *excess of labour beyond demand*?" This was the question to put to him; and, he must have been fool or knave, not to have answered, "NO!" For, in a country so situated, *moderate labour* and *much leisure* must exist: the demand for labour would necessarily be kept up by the ability of workmen to live without much labour: the "*market for labour*," as the slang is, would not be over-stocked, because each workman would need so moderate a portion of it to support himself and family. And this is just how it is in America, where *there are no taxes worthy of the name*, where a common labourer gets a *dollar a day*, and buys pork at *three pence a pound*. When a man has earned in one day enough to keep him four, he is not in a hurry to crowd into "the market" to beg people to purchase labour from him.

Oh, no! WILMOT, get the TAXES

OFF, and let the people all stay here in their native country, and you will find, that there is no over-stock of labour. You complain *now*, however, only of *the coming of the Irish to England*; and you say, that they over-stock the market with labour, and make our people poor. This is all false: it is still more foolish than false: for, *why* do they leave Ireland to come hither? I will tell you what passed between me and some Englishmen that were working for me in company with some Irishmen, and some of the former of whom had testified ill-will towards the latter, saying that they came here to *take the bread out of their mouths*. "Do you not know," said I, "that some of the bread, all the bacon, and nearly all the butter that *you eat* comes from the country of these poor fellows, whose relations and friends are even now at work to raise more to be sent to you? And, can you be so unjust and so cruel as to wish these men not to be suffered to taste a part of this food?" That was enough for even these men; but, this was not all; for, must not *the Irish incomes spent in England give rise to employment here*; and, shall not the labourers of Ireland be permitted to come and *partake in that employment*? Oh! if I had been an Irish member, and if *I had been on the same floor with you*, for months you would have had tingling in your ears all my remarks on your proposition for sending the Irish across the seas, lest they should come here to seek employment, thereby throwing Englishmen on the parish to draw on the land-owners estates! Years should not have got the singing of the sound out of your head.

Your project is done for, WILMOT, and I have now done with *you*; but, I have not done with the *subject*; and, as soon as I have leisure, I will make the labouring classes clearly understand the whole of the matter; and, especially, I will let them know, what are those *happy regions* to which your project would send them.

BROUGHAM.

THE newspapers say, that this seven hours' speech-maker is to have what will explain *why* he compared WELLINGTON to CICERO; in short, the newspapers say, that he is going to have a *place under the Duke*! I always said, that he would, if he could. This will be a good thing for the country, for it will open the eyes of those who still remain blind. What sort of a *bargain* he will be to the Duke, I leave my readers to say; but, at any rate, this cock will be off the pit: there will be no more fools to be cajoled by him. LORD LOWTHER has been *re-elected for Westmoreland*; and BROUGHAM did not oppose him, as he vowed he always would! Look out, dupes! Prepare yourselves, Liverpool fools, for the ridicule of the nation.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I deem AUDEM DONALDSON's letter to be of so much importance, that I shall insert it next week, in the body of a letter to the DUKE OF WELLINGTON, in order to add, if possible, to his resolution to put down the accursed system of oppression carried on, particularly in Scotland, by means of the one-pound notes. This week has brought me another letter, from a Scotch gentleman in London, who speaks of such another, or, indeed, still more cruel case, in another part of Scotland, the person who *asked for gold* being, in this last case, *actually banished from Scotland*. The writer of this letter puts his name and place of *abode*. Another letter, received to-day (8th July) from a gentleman now in London, *vouches for all the facts* contained in Mr. Donaldson's letter, and is signed with the name of the writer. I congratulate myself on being the cause of bringing these facts to light. But why do not the writers of these letters state the facts in petitions to parliament, or in memorials to the Treasury? The Ministers are not to blame, if people will not complain to them.